110TH CONGRESS 1ST SESSION

S. 2243

To strongly encourage the Government of Saudi Arabia to end its support for institutions that fund, train, incite, encourage, or in any other way aid and abet terrorism, to secure full Saudi cooperation in the investigation of terrorist incidents, to denounce Saudi sponsorship of extremist Wahhabi ideology, and for other purposes.

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

October 25, 2007

Mr. Specter (for himself and Mr. Wyden) introduced the following bill; which was read twice and referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations

A BILL

To strongly encourage the Government of Saudi Arabia to end its support for institutions that fund, train, incite, encourage, or in any other way aid and abet terrorism, to secure full Saudi cooperation in the investigation of terrorist incidents, to denounce Saudi sponsorship of extremist Wahhabi ideology, and for other purposes.

- 1 Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representa-
- 2 tives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,
- 3 SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE.
- 4 This Act may be cited as the "Saudi Arabia Account-
- 5 ability Act of 2007".

1 SEC. 2. FINDINGS.

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- 2 Congress makes the following findings:
- 1373 (2001) mandates that all states "refrain from providing any form of support, active or passive, to entities or persons involved in terrorist acts", take "the necessary steps to prevent the commission of terrorist acts", and "deny safe haven to those who finance, plan, support, or commit terrorist acts".
 - (2) In 2004, the Council on Foreign Relations reported that it knew of "not a single Saudi donor of funds to terrorist groups who has been publicly punished".
 - (3) In his July 2005 testimony to the Committee on Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs of the Senate, Stewart Levey, the Undersecretary for the Office of Terrorism and Financing Intelligence of the Department of the Treasury, reported that "even today, we believe that Saudi donors may still be a significant source of terrorist financing, including for the insurgency in Iraq". He added that Saudi financiers and charities "remain a key source for the promotion of ideologies used by terrorists and violent extremists".
 - (4) According to a July 27, 2007 New York Times article, "Of an estimated 60 to 80 foreign

- fighters who enter Iraq each month, American military and intelligence officials say that nearly half are coming from Saudi Arabia and that the Saudis have not done enough to stem the flow.".
 - (5) According to a July 15, 2007 Los Angeles Times article, "About 45% of all foreign militants targeting U.S. troops and Iraqi civilians and security forces are from Saudi Arabia ... according to official U.S. military figures made available to The Times by the senior officer. Nearly half of the 135 foreigners in U.S. detention facilities in Iraq are Saudis, he said. Fighters from Saudi Arabia are thought to have carried out more suicide bombings than those of any other nationality, said the senior U.S. officer, who spoke on condition of anonymity because of the subject's sensitivity.".
 - (6) The Center for Religious Freedom, formerly affiliated with Freedom House, in a 2006 report entitled "Saudi Arabia's Curriculum of Intolerance", stated that despite 2005 statements by the Saudi Foreign Minister that their educational curricula have been reformed, this is "simply not the case". Contrarily, religious textbooks continue to advocate the destruction of any non-Wahhabi Muslim. Saudi Arabia has established Wahhabism, an extreme form

- of Islam, as the official state doctrine, and about 5,000,000 children are instructed each year in Islamic studies using Saudi Ministry of Education textbooks.
 - (7) A Fall 2007 United States Commission on International Religious Freedom report stated "Due to insufficient information provided by the Saudi government, the Commission could not verify that a formal mechanism exists within the Saudi government to review thoroughly and revise educational texts and other materials sent outside of Saudi Arabia. It appears that the Saudi government has made little or no progress on efforts to halt the exportation of extremist ideology outside the Kingdom.".
 - (8) A September 2005 Government Accountability Office report stated that "Saudi Arabia's multibillion-dollar petroleum industry, although largely owned by the government, has fostered the creation of large private fortunes, enabling many wealthy Saudis to sponsor charities and educational foundations whose operations extend to many countries. United States Government and other expert reports have linked some Saudi donations to the global propagation of religious intolerance, hatred of Western values, and support of terrorist activities".

- (9) A June 2004 press release on the website of the Saudi embassy, www.saudiembassy.net, discussed the creation of the Saudi National Commission for Relief and Charity Work Abroad, a nongovernmental body designed to "take over all aspects of private overseas aid operations and assume responsibility for the distribution of private charitable donations from Saudi Arabia" in order to "guard against money laundering and the financing of terrorism". As of late 2007, this Commission had not been created.
 - (10) In a February 2006 open Senate Select Committee on Intelligence hearing on the "World Wide Threat", former Director of National Intelligence and current Deputy Secretary of State John Negroponte, stated that "there are private Saudi citizens who still engage in these kinds of donations [in which money is transferred back door to terrorists]".
 - (11) A March 2005 report by the Congressional Research Service stated that at least 5 persons listed as beneficiaries of the Saudi Committee for the Support of the Al Quds Intifada were suspected suicide bombers.

(12) During November 8, 2005 testimony on 1 2 Saudi Arabia before the Subcommittee on Ter-3 rorism, Technology, and Homeland Security of the Committee on the Judiciary of the Senate, Steve 5 Emerson, terrorism expert and Executive Director of 6 the Investigative Project on Terrorism, stated that 7 despite repeated declarations by Saudi officials that 8 there has been substantial reform in education, 9 progress against terrorism, and movement toward 10 transparency, a review of other Saudi announce-11 ments shows that they have either specifically failed 12 to follow through or cannot be proven to have fol-13 lowed through on their pledges. He also noted that 14 the Saudi government established the Saudi Com-15 mittee for the Support of the Al Quds Intifada, 16 which was proven to provide aid to Palestinian ter-17 rorist groups. During an Israeli raid on a Hamas in-18 stitution, they discovered a spreadsheet from the 19 aforementioned committee giving a detailed account 20 about how they received \$545,000 from the com-21 mittee to allocate to 102 families of so-called mar-22 tyrs. The spreadsheet included the names of 8 sui-23 cide bombers.

> (13) A January 2007 Congressional Research Service Report on Saudi Arabia's terrorist-financing

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- activities indicated that although the records portion
 of the Committee for the Support of the Al Quds
 Intifada was deactivated in March 2005, of the
 1,300 listed beneficiaries, over 60 matched or closely
 resembled the names of known Palestinian militants
 who carried out attacks against Israel between October 2000 and March 2002.
 - (14) The final report of the Presidentially-appointed Iraq Study Group stated that "funding for the Sunni insurgency in Iraq comes from private donors in Saudi Arabia and other Gulf states".
 - (15) A January 2005 report by the Center for Religious Freedom found that Saudi Arabia was creating and distributing, through its embassy in Washington, D.C., material promoting hatred, intolerance, and violence at mosques and Islamic centers in the United States.
 - (16) On December 14, 2005, R. James Woolsey, former Director of Central Intelligence wrote, "Over the long run, this movement [Wahhabism] is in many ways the most dangerous of the ideological enemies we face." Mr. Woolsey also explained that "al Qaeda and the Wahhabis share essentially the same underlying totalitarian theocratic ideology. It is this common Salafist ideology that the Wahhabis

- 1 have been spreading widely financed by \$3–4 bil-
- 2 lion/year from the Saudi government and wealthy in-
- dividuals in the Middle East over the last quarter
- 4 century to the madrassas of Pakistan, the text-
- 5 books of Turkish children in Germany, and the
- 6 mosques of Europe and the U.S.".
- 7 (17) According to a May 2006 report by the
- 8 Center for Religious Freedom, official Saudi reli-
- 9 gious textbooks continue to teach hatred of those
- who do not follow Wahhabi Muslim doctrine and en-
- 11 courage jihad against such "infidels" and "the
- 12 Saudi public school religious curriculum continues to
- propagate an ideology of hate toward the unbeliever
- 14 ... [A] text instructs students that it is a religious
- obligation to do 'battle' against infidels in order to
- spread the faith".
- 17 (18) In May 2006, the Congressional Research
- 18 Service reported that "Saudi Arabia has discussed
- increasing boycott efforts against Israel, despite
- their WTO [World Trade Organization] obliga-
- 21 tions".
- 22 SEC. 3. SENSE OF CONGRESS.
- 23 It is the sense of Congress that—
- (1) it is imperative that the Government of
- 25 Saudi Arabia immediately and unconditionally—

- 1 (A) permanently close all charities, schools, 2 or other organizations or institutions in the 3 Kingdom of Saudi Arabia that fund, train, in-4 cite, encourage, or in any other way aid and abet terrorism anywhere in the world (referred 6 to in this Act as "Saudi-based terror organiza-7 tions"), including by means of providing sup-8 port for the families of individuals who have 9 committed acts of terrorism;
 - (B) end funding or other support by the Government of Saudi Arabia for charities, schools, and any other organizations or institutions outside the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia that train, incite, encourage, or in any other way aid and abet terrorism anywhere in the world (referred to in this Act as "offshore terror organizations"), including by means of providing support for the families of individuals who have committed acts of terrorism;
 - (C) block all funding from private Saudi citizens and entities to any Saudi-based terror organization or offshore terrorism organization; and
 - (D) provide complete, unrestricted, and unobstructed cooperation to the United States, in-

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1	cluding the unsolicited sharing of relevant intel-
2	ligence in a consistent and timely fashion, in
3	the investigation of groups and individuals that
4	are suspected of financing, supporting, plotting,
5	or committing an act of terror against United
6	States citizens anywhere in the world, including
7	within the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia; and
8	(2) the President, in determining whether to
9	make the certification described in section 4, should
10	judge whether the Government of Saudi Arabia has
11	continued and sufficiently expanded its efforts to
12	combat terrorism since the May 12, 2003 bombing
13	in Riyadh.
14	SEC. 4. PRESIDENTIAL CERTIFICATION.
15	The President shall certify to the appropriate con-
16	gressional committees when the President determines that
17	the Government of Saudi Arabia—

- 18 (1) is fully cooperating with the United States 19 in investigating and preventing terrorist attacks;
- 20 (2) has permanently closed all Saudi-based 21 Wahhabbist organizations that fund Islamic extre-22 mism, internally and abroad;
- (3) has exercised maximum efforts to block all
 funding from private Saudi citizens, corporations,

- and entities, to foreign Islamic extremist and ter-
- 2 rorist movements; and
- 3 (4) has stopped financing and disseminating
- 4 materials, and other forms of support, that encour-
- 5 age the spread of radical Wahhabi ideology.

6 SEC. 5. STATUS REPORT.

- 7 (a) REQUIREMENT FOR REPORT.—Not later than 6
- 8 months after the date of the enactment of this Act, and
- 9 every 12 months thereafter until the President makes the
- 10 certification described in section 4, the Secretary of State
- 11 shall submit a report to the appropriate congressional
- 12 committees that describes the progress made by the Gov-
- 13 ernment of Saudi Arabia toward meeting the conditions
- 14 described in paragraphs (1) through (4) of section 4.
- 15 (b) FORM.—The report submitted under subsection
- 16 (a) shall be in unclassified form and may include a classi-
- 17 fied annex.
- 18 SEC. 6. APPROPRIATE CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEES DE-
- 19 FINED.
- In this Act, the term "appropriate congressional com-
- 21 mittees" means the Committee on Foreign Relations of
- 22 the Senate and the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the
- 23 House of Representatives.

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